# JUSTICE

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## An Appeal from the National Fund and Industrial Association, Madras.

The National Fund and Industrial Association at Madras was established in 1906 through the untiring efforts of the late Mr. G. Subramaniya Aiyar. The wealth and prospects of a nation depend upon industry and commerce. The responsibility of stimulating the Industrial activities of capitalists and working classes rests with leaders and a resort to Government help to be made only when and where unaided private efforts are inadequate to grapple with the situation.

### Efforts made in the United Kingdom.

2 Steps have been taken in the United Kingdom to compete successfully with the rival manufacturing countries to secure oversea trade for their industries. Home industries are being put on a better footing and are brought in touch with the Commercial Intelligence Department by the appointment of Sub-Committees in the leading commercial centres consisting of representatives of manufacturing mercantile and banking interest which are to meet at frequent intervals to supervise and give advice upon the working of the Department of Commercial Intelligence. State-controlled Syndicates are formed to conduct those industries which were prior to the war practically a monopoly of Germany.

### Efforts made in America and in Japan.

3. The Director of Statistics in India in a communication to the Government stated that the United States and Japan, especially the latter, are now seizing the opportunities for developing their trade brought about by the curtailment of trade with the belligerents. American manufacturers investigate the requirements of Indian markets and of individual customers and make an expert and exhaustive study of shipping conditions and custom tariffs so as to secure the most favourable classifications and terms for themselves, and are filling the Indian markets with inferior stuffs.

4. Sir M. Visweswarayya has pointed out that in the United States, whereas in 1890 the wealth per head was 1035 dollars in 1912 it reached the figure of 1965 dollars, Two centuries ago, the wealth of the country was 553½ million dollars of which 1-5th was the value of the slaves. The wealth has multiplied three-hundred and fortyfold and at the time of the last census it stood at 1,88,000 million dollars. Between the years of 1904 and 1912 the wealth has increased by 80 per cent.

5. In certain lines of the Indian Import trade such as hosiery and piece-goods, silks, glass and glass-ware, copper, matches, umbrella fittings, toys, etc., Japan's position is growing in importance yearly; cheap and showy articles of very inf rior quality are placed in the Indian market.

### POSITION IN INDIA.

6. The present economic condition in our country is anything but satisfactory. Agriculture the most important industry of the country is in a poor and precarious condition on account of the scarcity of water, aggravated by irrigation difficulties, the productive capacity is at a minimum

7. It will be seen from the tabular statement given below what amounts have been spent in scholarships for the promotion of the object of the Association in a tangible or material manner.

| YEAR | | SCHOLARSHIPS. | YEAR | | SCHOLARSHIPS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1908 | ... | Rs. 3,435 | 1913 | ... | Rs. 3,350 |
| 1909 | ... | " 4,881 | 1914 | ... | " 1,185 |
| 1911 | ... | " 1,936 | 1915 | ... | " 2,220 |
| 1912 | ... | " 3,819 | 1916 | ... | " 1,445 |

8. The Board of Directors feel painfully bound to bring to the notice of the public that they became recently aware of a series of defalcations which the Fund was subjected to, and will give full and further particulars thereof soon after the matter, which is now *sub judice*, is disposed of by the Law Courts.

9. In conclusion, we confidently believe that substantial collections will be made at the time of the approaching Deepavali festival so as to secure the objects of the Association, and what we desire more than the collections, is hearty co-operation and sympathy with the movement.

K. KRISHNASWAMI RAO, *President.*
A. RANGASWAMI AIYENGAR,
C. GOPAL MENON,
*Honorary Secretaries.*

*N.B.*—All remittances are requested to be sent to the Indian Bank Ltd., direct to the account of the National Fund and Industrial Association,

## NON-BRAHMIN CONFERENCE

### SPECIAL SESSION

*(From a Correspondent.)*

A special session of the Coimbatore District non-Brahmin Conference was held at Palladam on the 16th of October 1918. Mr. D. A. G. Ratnam B.A., L.L.B. of Trichinopoly presiding and M.R.Ry. Rao Bahadur M. G. Arokiasawmy Pillai B.A., Vice-President District Board Coimbatore, being the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Mr. Ratnam and his party were received at the station by the leading non-Brahmins of Tirupur and taken in procession through the principal streets of the town which had been gaily decorated for the occasion with flags, festoons and arches, bearing suitable inscriptions, so dear to the Dravidian heart, such as "Wanted Communal Representation in Public Service and in all Public bodies" "Long live Dr. Nair and P. T. Chettiar." "May God grant Victory to our Allies." "Long live Their Majesties King GeorgeV and Queen Mary etc."

A cosmopolitan dinner was then given at the house of Mr. Kesavan by the Dravida Sangam, Tirupur and amongst the guests were several prominent Mahammadan residents of the place. The party then motored to Palladam, 9 miles off where the conference was held in a spacious pandal, erected for the occasion. In spite of the short notice over 500 delegates from all parts of the district attended the conference, besides some visitors from other districts also. The proceedings were all in Tamil and great enthusiasm prevailed throughout. Amongst those present were the following gentlemen:—Messrs. Punnyakoti Mudaliar, merchant and Mirasdar Vice-Chairman Muncipal Coucil, Coimbatore, Verivadi Chettiar, merchant and mirasdar, Secretary of the Dravidian Association Coimbatore, K.C. Arunachalam Pillai Vakil, Perundurai, C, R. Meenakshisundaram Pillai, Vakil Palladam, Nana Sahib, Nathirkhan Sahib, Tulasi Row, Subbarayan Chettiar, Ramalingam Chettiar, Zamalkhan Sahib, Sanisthian Sahib, Raheemkhan Sahib, Narayanasamy Naidu, Subba Naidu, Chinnasamy Naidu, Gheria Goundar, Kumarappa Goundar, A. Chinnasamy Naidu, P. K. Rangasamy Naidu, Maniyam Muthu Naidu, Kondava Naidu, Rungasamy Naidu, Ponnusamy Pillai, Secretary, Palladam Dravidian Sangam, Sennimalai Goundar, Babjee Sahib, Subramania Chettiar of Tirupur, A.D. Swami, Kangayam Natesan, Sivanandam Mudaliar of Karur, Abdul Kadir Sahib of Darapuram, Vidwan Ganapathia Pillai of Salem, Thangameeran Sahib, Dindigul and Gnanamani Thevar of Madura.

Telegrams, expressing sympathy with the objects of the conference and expressing inability to attend were received from Janab Rao Sahib, Syyed Dewan Abdul Razaak Sahib Bahadur Municipal Chairman Pollachi, District Board member and vice-President, Taluk Board, Pollachi, Mr. N.R. Malayandi Chettiar, District and Taluq Board member and Municipal Councillor, Udumalpet, Mr. A. Meenakshisundaram Pillai B.A. B.L., High Court Vakil, District and Taluq Board member and Municipal Councillor, Udumalapet. Mr. C. S. Ratnasabapathy Mudaliar President, Taluq Board Coimbatore and Mr. T. Ramalingam Chettiar, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Coimbatore.

The proceedings opened with a prayer by Vidwan Ganapathy Pillai of Salem and a song of praise in honour of the non-Brahmin leaders by Mr. Sivanandam Mudaliar of Karur after which M. R. Ry. Rao Bahadur Arokiaswamy Pillai avergal Chairman of the Reception Committee delivered a lucid and thoughtful address, in the course of which, he said it was time that all self-respecting non-Brahmin patriots now rallied round the central article of the creed of the S. I. L. F. namely Communal Representation in the Public Services and Communal Representation in all Public bodies by Communal Electorates and pointed out, with living examples from his own experience as well as from that of other non-Brahmin candidates for the elected seats in the Legislative Council, that in the present state of the Brahmin official influence at the elections, it was well nigh impossible for a non-Brahmin to succeed except through the "door" of Communal Electorates—Speaking about the personnel of the Franchise Committee he said that the nomination of Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the avowed champion of Brahmin oligarchy, who admittedly pays no tax to the state and does not know what interest he represents and who said he contributes nothing to the state except a certain amount of agitation, such a gentleman is not and cannot be the Representative of the tax-paying non-Brahmins of this Presidency and that his appointment to decide the question of franchise is causing acute and wide-spread discontent amongst non-Brahmins all over India. In conclusion he warned the non-Brahmins against the trap set for them by the moderates' conference to be held shortly and said that the so-called moderates were only extremists in disguise and that, though this distinction without any real difference might successfully hoodwink a Montagu or a Chelmsford the non-Brahmins, especially of this Presidency, were not so easily to be taken in by the well-worn tactics of the Home Rulers.

The President, in the course of a lengthy Tamil speech, lasting for nearly two hours, narrated in pathetic words, the old old story of how the Brahmin slowly but surely dominated the mind, will and conscience of the non-Brahmin from the time of Manu onwards, and said that the political-minded Brahmin had made two seriousattempts within modern times to set up a Brahmin oligarchy with the muscle, money and labour of the non-Brahmin and by working upon his hopes and fears—that the first was a success though a short-lived one and it was due to the genius of Shivaji who thought he had done a very meritorious deed by handing over the State to the Rule of the Brahmins. The Maharatta Confederacy was at one time so strong that it threatened to overshadow the whole of India but the weakness of disunion, inherent in the Brahmin social system, proved fatal at the battle of Panipet and afterwards, before the successive onslaughts of a Western virile power and it was only the Providential advent of this British power with its higher notions ot personal freedom and progress which brought hope and salvation, for the 1st time in Indian History since the appearance of Budha, to the depressed and oppressed millions of India and other backward classes many of whom still feel alas, even after 150 years of British Rule that India is not their home, can never be their home and curse the day they were born in India. A glance at the Rowlatt Committee's Report and the Chandavarkar-Beachcroft Note, leaves no doubt that the Tantia Topis and Nana Sahibs of 1857 have their modern counter parts, who, as, of old, by working upon the ignorance of the masses, even now, if allowed to have their own way, will only be too glad to bring about the downfall of the British Empire in India. That the Revolution of 1857 was averted by the genius and the strong character of the British Administrators of those days and by the loyalty and devotion to the British throne shown at that time of crisis by the non-Brahmin communities. That mighty fabric built up by the genius of Clive and Hastings and consolidated by the gains of Dalhousie and others and cemented by the tact, sympathy and wisdom of England's statesmen, that Empire is to-day again in danger of being abandoned to the tender mercies of a selfish oligarchy. This so-called Home Rule movement is an aggressive, militant and dangerous movement the chief promoters of which which, not satisfied with having become practically the real administrators of the country was now making a bold bid for complete autonomy and for the thorough Brahmanisation of the whole machinery of Government. The Brahmin India for which Mrs. Besant is now working with her might and main, is not the New India of liberty, equality and fraternity; it is not the dawn of an era of peace, happiness and contentment for India's teaming millions but is only the revival in spite of the empty catch-words and shibboleths of western democracy the revival of the dreaded India of Manu which means the rushing in of the might of slavery, despair and damnation over the free-born and god like souls of millions upon millions of Indians whom a wise Providence has wisely committed to the guardianship of the British Nation. Before that night covers with its chilling and dreary darkness, the freedom-loving soul of India, a light must break somewhere, full of hope and salvation for the voiceless millions. The non-Brahmin movement started under the auspices of the South Indian Liberal Federation hails this star of hope and has come to enlighten the masses and the Government of the country and the British Democracy. This is only the counter movement, perhaps the last word of the masses before they are sent down the abyss. It has till now been a loyal, peaceful and purely a defensive movement but the time has now come when the movement may take an offensive and aggressive turn, unless the British democracy sees things in their proper lights and thwarts what amounts to abandonment of the masses to the rule of a selfish and exclusive oligarchy.

The rise of the non-Brahmin movement marks only the crisis in the social and political condition of India. The educated Brahmin's philosophy of caste exclusiveness, his notions of Brahmanical learning and his right divine to dominate his fellow-countrymen were becoming so intolerable that the non-Brahmin movement has come not a day too soon. For several years past, the non Brahmin had been looking on, with dismay, the slow and steady Brahminisation of the Madras Government but did not assert himself, owing to his dread of the official influence of the Brahmin. And it was only the utter selfishness of the Home Rule agitation started during a cruel crisis in the history of Britain.—it required nothing less than this, to make the non-Brahmin realise the danger and come out in self-defence, in spite of the lies, calumunies the hisses and curses all around. The Adayar politicians had counted on the indifference of the masses and the dread of the Brahmin official influence but had reckoned without their host. If, to-day, the old Irish lady at Adayar, has lost her 'sting' and her 'power of agitation' she knows (her Brahmin protegees know it also) that it was due to the strength of the non-Brahmin movement and its timely appearance during her palmiest days of agitation. It was the non-Brahmin movement which, gladly came to the rescue of Government, in this War and made Recruiting and War. Loan, a grand success while the Adayar politicians were bargaining for Home Rule. It is not perhaps easy to imagine, on the eve of victory, what dangerous complications would have followed, as a result of the Brahmin-Besant agitation, had not the non-Brahmin movement courageously exposed their calumnies against the Government and permeated the masses with sentiments of loyalty and devotion to the British Raj. As, in the past, so, even now. it is the non-Brahmin and the Adi Dravida who is shedding his precious blood on the fields of Mesopotamia and Palestine while the Brahmin, comfortable in his home and village, bargains for Home Rule, pointing to the war-services of the non-Brahmin. Because our movement was based upon an appreciation of the Britishideals of 'justice and equal opportunity for all' our enemies have said that we and our leaders were in the pay of the Madras Government. It was the blackest lie that ever fouled the mouth of any politician. Not one of the Home Rule coteries could show men like our leaders, Dr. T. M. Nair and P. T. Chettiar—so brave, so independent, so devoid of cant and so patriotic. These names have now become household words in S. India and will go down to posterity and be engraved in the hearts of non-Brahmins, Christians, Adi Dravidas and Muhammadans.

We are not surprised that our well-known loyalty should offend the Home Rulers but it is the irony of fate that it now seems to constitute a stumbling block in our progress. The muzzling of Dr Nair in England will always remain a black stain in the annals of Brahmin rule in India and all the non-Brahmin communities in S. India feel it, not only as a personal wrong done to Dr. T. M. Nair but, as an insult wantonly inflicted upon them, through their acknowledged leader. It was the unkindest cut of all, so unBritish and so opposed to all our notions of Western chivalry. In his anxiety to please his implacable foe, who has, after all, checked his advances, like those of an 'untouchable,' he deliberately struck down the great non-Brahmin leader whose only 'crime was that he was loyal, intensely loyal and communicated his loyalty to masses of his countrymen at a time when that loyalty and that alone, saved the British Rule in S. India from a critical situation.

Mr. Montagu described the Indian Government as too wooden but for a man of his age and political experience his arguments against our just claims for Communal Representation by Communal Electorates will not convince an Indian Fourth Form boy who is familiar with the actual social condition of his own village and the history of his own country. We, who live, move and have our being among the masses of this country and know the pathos and the stern realities of Indian social life, know what value to set up on the reasonings and analogies of one who saw India, as an honoured guest at the Indian capitals, listening to a man of Democratic clap-trap from Brahmin politicians and these friends, who, it is well known, are socially the most reactionary and the least democratic in the world. The partisanship of Mr. Montagu and his obstinacy is clearly seen in the way in which he has nominated the personnel of the Franchise Committee By appointing two Brahmin agitators, Messrs. Surendranath Banerjee and N. S. Srinivasa Sastry, who are the champions of a Brahmin Oligarchy, Mr. Montagu has added insult to injury and has caused accute discontent amongst the non-Brahmins of South India. We have absolutely no faith in the so-called safeguards provided in Reserved and Transferred subjects and in the complicated machinery of Councils and assemblies. The only effective safeguard against a Brahmin ascendancy is Communal Electorates and Communal Representation in the Public Service and we are determined to fight for it, to the bitter end. We ask for bread—Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford reach us a stone—we ask for fish they reach us a snake—we do not want their schemes of Reforms.

During these 150 years, the British have done practically nothing for social reform What little has been done, was done by the Christian Missionaries and, not, by the British rulers, nay, the British Courts of Justice, probably, under the influence of Brahmin lawyers, have given a rigidity to caste distinctions, perhaps unknown before. Dr. Nair, in his "Social Injustice Of the Educational system" has clearly shown how, owing to the apathy and the hostility of the higher classes, the Government has spent the money of the masses for the higher education of the few and has woefully neglected the primary education of the people, which ought to have been the first charge on the educational funds of the state. The result of this educational policy is that the masses are still illiterate and ignorant while the literate Brahmin class though politically ambitious, yet socially remains the most reactionary and unprogressive caste in India. Having done practically nothing for Social Reform—nay, having indirectly contributed to the illiteracy and to the backward condition of the masses, and having done everything to push up the Brahmin to his present position of political predominance, the representatives of the British people—the present Secretary of State and the Viceroy, suddenly turn social reformers and, by a stroke of the pen, delude themselves that they have pulled down the social barriers and have brought union and brotherliness amongst the Indian people and upon th[illegible] gratuitous assumption, brush aside the[illegible] for Communal Representation and [illegible] trust our liberty, fortune and li[illegible]

hands of the most selfish and exclusive section of the people whom a thousand Montagues and Chelmsfords, writing a thousand and bulky reports on Constitutional Reforms, will never change one inch from their caste and their Varnasrama.

Mr. Montagu says 'the war has effected rapid progress in India'. There has been louder agitation—greater anxiety of the agitator to bring the English into difficulty and more lavish use of the catchwords of Democracy but the War has in no way broadened the outlook of the Brahmin in social matters—

Let us leave Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford alone; let us leave their Franchise Committee also alone. The only course now open to us, in the words of Dr. Nair, is to educate our masters in England—the British Democracy. We shall appeal to the Christian conscience of a nation which calls itself Christian, whether it will deliberately and recklessly, hand over the millions of India to the rule of a class which is determined to keep them as in the past, in darkness, bondage and superstition—we shall ask the descendants of Wilberforce whether the spirit of their fathers still animates them and whether they will immediately emancipate us by granting us Communal Representation. We shall tell them plainly it would be far better for the British to abandon India to chaos, anarchy and Bolshevism rather than band us over, to the rule of a tyrannous caste and keep that caste in power by British bayonets, by British troops and by all the resources which western civilisation and the money of the non-Brahmins can place at their command.

The following resolutions were then passed in the conference.

1. That this conference declares its unswerving loyalty to the British Raj—congratulates the Allies on their recent victories and prays for their speedy success in this World-War.

2. That this conference emphatically urges the immediate adoption of Communal Representation by Communal Electorates in all public bodies as the necessary conditions in any scheme of Constitutional Reforms and is of opinion that any such scheme, not containing this important provision if attempted to be passed into Law is bound to produce chaos and revolution in India.

3. That this conference emphatically urges that Communal Representation in the Public Service; is indispensable in the interests of efficiency and justice and ought to be given effect to, immediately to prevent untold bitterness and friction in the relation between the Brahmin and non-Brahmin communities.

4. That this conference emphatically and indignantly protests against the nomination on the Franchise Committee of the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinisa Sastry the avowed champion of Brahmin oligarchy and views this action of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State as a direct menace to the loyalty of the non-Brahmins and an insult to their self-respect.

5. That this conference urges the immediate appointment of Dr. Nair or some other non-Brahmins of like views, to the Franchise Committee if the Government wants the non-Brahmin tax-payers of this Presidency to respect that committee and give evidence before it.

6. That this conference authorizes the President to communicate by cablegram the substance of Resolutions 2,3 and 4 to the Prime Minister of England with copy to Dr. Nair and that copies of these Resolutions, be forwarded to the Government of Madras, the Government of India and to the Press.

With a vote of thanks to the president, the conference came to a close.

A grand procession in which all the delegates took part and which passed through the important streets of Palladam with music and Dravida Bhajana by Vidwan Ganapathy Pillai of Salem left a lasting impression in the minds of the people of the place and as a result of this conference, a series of stirring addresses on our movement and the work before us is being delivered to enthusiastic audiences by our popular speakers Messrs. Sivanandam Mudaliar of Karur, Thangameeran Sahib of Dindigal, Gnanamani Thevar of Madura, Natesan of Kangeyam and Dravida singer, Ganapathi Pillai of Salem.

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The bus-conductor had told the passenger that she would have to get out, because the bus was going in the opposite direction to that which she desired.

"But it's got 'Piccadilly' written on it," she protested.

"Yes'm, but it's going away from Piccadilly. The bus has got "Nestle's Milk' on it, too, but we're not going to Switzerland."


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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### PULIVENDLA AND WAR LOAN

SIR,—The War Loan business was commenced in the Taluk by the beginning of July 1918, the necessary forms etc., being received at about that time In the beginning the people of the Taluk were not so keen to invest any money in the War Loan and only some Post Office Cash Certificates were subscribed for. It was even apprehended that the Taluk will be relegated to the last place and thus topped over by all other Taluks in the District.

A thrill of pleasure cannot but run through our Revered Collector of the District when he sees that Pulivendla has by a formidable spurt towards the close risen to the fullest height of her responsibility.

The figures stand as follows :—

| | Demand | Collection | Balance | Amanath |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| War Bonds | 1,08,025 | 97,445 | 10,580 | 145 |
| Cash Certificates | 10,110 | 9,100 | 1,010 | |
| Total | 1,18,135 | 1,06,545 | 11,590 | |

Great credit is due to the District officials for the successful way in which the war loan propaganda was ushered by them.

C. V. RANGA REDDI.

### THE TEACHING OF HISTORY
### II

SIR,—I have stated in my previous article that communal feeling instead of arresting the growth of national feeling would promote it. We want real national feeling and we can attain our end only by giving opportunity to the various communities to train and develop themselves in the art of civic life. The authors of the report ignore our movements and consequently its aims. We shall again revert our attention to the pages of past history to see the subtle and complicated forces and features that were working in the constitutional making of the various nations. Invariably our principle has been found in operation in the annals of constitutional history. The Greek States and particularly Athens became autonomous from the embryo village to community and then to a national, a city State. Besides this even the Governmental machinery was in accordance with and suitable to the conditions of the society. By a legislative enactment the citizens were divided into the four classes. They were given representation and respective privileges in the administrative institutions of the State. Here, in India we have already various but distinct classes or communities which are left unrepresented, When we ask for representation our 'Authors' say that it is against the teaching of history Again, despite giving representation to these classes, Athens became an autonomous and imperial State As a matter of fact Athens of Pericles was the national growth and expanison from Athens of Solon and Solon found it absolutey necessary for the well-being of the state, to recognise and grant Communal Representation and they worked along that line. What is early Roman history but an assertion and a fight around this principle of Communal Representation? It was the same communal feeling of ours that brought the Patricians and Plebeians in fierce conflict. And the Brahmins of modern India are only the patricians of ancient Rome. If the authors of the Report were actuated in their constitutional experiment by practical wisdom they ought to have recognised the principles so as to avoid the conflict that might take place between the Plebeans and the Patricians of modern India. History clearly indicates that Rome would not have become first an autonomous state and afterwards an imperial state if she had not got our principle. The non-Brahmins of Rome were given that political power—which we now demand,—to have their own representatives (magistrates) to be elected by themselves from among themselves and in their own Council or through Communal Electorates. They insisted like ourselves on having their own represenatives, for they found and righly too, that their interests are safe only when they are vested in and directed and guided by their chosen leaders. This policy is dictated by instinct, and sanity that one can find in humanity. It is none of jealousy or envy as the Home Rulers would speak of ! When one reads of the Patrician-Plebeian struggle one cannot but be struck at the close resemblance between our movement and the Plebeian agitation. The non Brahmins are suffering from political and social disadvantages. The Plebeians did not join with the Patricians until they were placed on equal footing with the Patricians. Non-Brahmin agitation never shall cease its work till it wins a position like those of the Plebeians. The Patricians of Rome partly forced by circumstances and partly out of their own wisdom yielded inch by inch their privileges to the Plebeians.

But what about our Brahmins? They have openly discountenanced such an idea.

K. V. M.

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The commission sent by the Governor of Smyrna early in October to enter into contact with the allies has returned to Smyrna without landing or consulting anyone.

## CALCUTTA NOTES.

(*From a orrespondent.*)

Oct. 20.

The lynx-eyed watchfulness of the police has averted during the Mohurram holidays, another of those horrible exhibitions of hooliganism, of which we had a sample just before the Bakr-Id, a month ago. Indeed a few days ago the rumour was persistent in the Indian quarters that a few of the Mahomedan, as well as the Marwari "gundas" were spoiling for a "gulmal" during the Mohurram, especially as their first outburst had so unfortunately miscarried and fizzled out. But, thank God, the rumour has proved unfounded, and the Mohurram, almost coinciding with the Pujas, has passed off without any bitch.

All the same it is impossible to withhold a hearing in sympathy for those peaceful folks who annually celebrate the Pujas and the Mohurram with great eclat. This year has been a year of intense hardship to these. The "aus" paddy has not been much of a success, and the prices of all necessaries have gone up beyond the purse-reaches of any but the landed gentry. Nothing gives the joyous colour to the Puja celebrations but the new dhoties aud saries which the Babus immensely delight in purchasing in such large numbers during the Pujahs. The working class Bengali generally spends all his hard-earned savings in feasts held in honour of Durga during the holidays. But this year his earnings had amounted only to very little, and that very little could hardly enable him to eat the numberless "puries" he was wont to in former years, and hold the costly processions that his heart so much loves to parade along the streets on their way to the Hughli. So, his prayer this year has naturally been that the long drawn-out agony of the European war may be over by this time next year. So may it be !

• • • •

Writing about the War, I am reminded of the salutary change that has come over the pack of Home Rulers in our midst. These amiable gentlemen, who seemingly are blind to their own or their country's limitations, have latterly shed off their truculence and are fast sliding back to a reasonable frame of mind. When the unconditional surrender of Bulgaria came to be known, the one and only organ of their advocacy over here started a series of articles on the problem of peace. The keynote of these lucubrations would seen to be a nervous fear broadly hinted at, that the victories might turn the heads of the British statesmen and induce them to go back to their "bureaucratic" ways of existence, with never a twitching of brow and moistening of eye in sympathy for the hard oppreessed Indians! The solution as to how a bully, who shatters the peace of the world and respects neither man or God made laws, should be handled, we were told, should be sought for with "mental detachment"—whatever that might be. Also that President Wilson alone was to be depended upon on a matter of this kind. Do the Home Rulers still believe in the President's shouting out at the Peace. Conference : "You English ! Gott strafe you all ! See this enlightened retired High Court Judge's pathetic letter ! Hands off ! Leave India to its own fate, in the hands of voluble Babus and gritty Mahomedans." Perhaps, who knows, some of them are still expecting the Vedic India to rise from its ashes at the bidding of President Wilson whose acquaintance they so recently cultivated !

• • • •

Well, now that a good number of my Bengali friends are talking of the Reform Scheme, self-government, and so forth, it is good to enquire how they have been conducting themselves with the slight load of real self-governing opportunity they have been having for some time now. Recently, we had two remarkable instances of supersession of two of our prominent Municipalities. In the Municipality of Burdwan mismanagement and bungling was rampant, Primitive conditions of insanitation, ill-lighting, illimitable financial chaos prevailed there, and the elected commissioners of the august institution were found to be over-fond of talking about Edmund Burke and John Stuart Mill than of the poor tax-prayers' few wants for cleanly living and healthy breathing. The second supersession was of the Hughli-Chinsurah Municipality, where the commissioners had taken it into their heads to upset the working of the water-works plants by not regularly supplying coal for their running. Cholera broke out in virulence, the Civil Surgeon reminded them of their guilt, the piteous wails of the bereaved assailed their otherwise hyper-sensitive ears They moved not ; they sat tightly on, argued about it and about ! The Government moved these worthies to have meters fixed to houses so that there might be a fair and equitable distribution of the total filtered water-supply amongst the rich and the poor alike What do you think they did? They hurried off to their law books, and consulted them with feverish brows to see if it was in their competence to compel the houseowners to do so. The result was that major portion of the total supply went to the misuse of the rich, leaving the poor to be content with the chance tap supply of a brief hour or two ! There were other achievements also to the credit of the elected commissioners of Chinsurah-Hughli Municipality, but these I think are sufficient to convince any unbiassed mind of the unique qualifications of the patriots to rule the roost !

• • • •

Many of the Bengalis confess to an inability to understand the "Raison d'etre" of the non-Brahmin movement in the Madras Presidency. Well, I am not surprised at it. Though there are Brahmins as well as non-Brahmins here, there has never been that close-fisted and arrogant oppression on the part of the former. But there is enough scope for an outburst of passion and grievance here also, if only there is a courageous band of men who wish well of the country and who will fearlessly advocate the cause of the down-trodden masses of Bengal, who constitute the peasantry, on whose daily sweat and toil, some of our most easygoing Home Rulers fatten. Unfortunately for these poor people, even the newspapers that swear eternally to speaking on their behalf and their behalf alone, are but unworthy prints which only voice the interested cries of an organised clique. Verily the days of Romesh Chundra Dutts and Bankim Chundra Chatterjees are over !

• • • •

Before closing these Notes, I should like to let you know of the correspondence that "A.B. C." has started in the columns of the "Statesman" regarding the advisability of inviting all I. C. S. officers of 15 and even 10 years' standing to record their individual independent opinions on the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme. This correspondence, I may tell you, is but a reflection of the belief that is widespread here that this noble body of officers who have so long been bearing the brunt of the administration of the country have absolutely been left in the cold in the matter of the framing of the Reform Proposals. Surely the scheme has disturbed a hornet's nest, and it is impossible to forecast how it is all going to end.

## THILLANAYAGAM BATHING GHAT

The following memorial to the Collector of Trichinopoly is sent to us for publication:—

There is a bathing ghat, about a furlong from the Cauvery bridge on the eastern side known as Thillanayagam Pillai Bathing Ghat. It was built for the use of all classes irrespective of caste distinctions. Owing to the influence of the Brahmins in the Municipal Council, they set apart the western portion of the ghat for Brahmins, ignoring the protests made by the public. Then a public meeting was convened with over 5,000 persons and a resolution was passed to have the ghat separated for males and females without caste distinctions, and communication was made of the same to the authorities concerned. The Collector has sent an order to the Municipal Council to cancel the previous resolution which was placed before a sub-committee consisting of three Brahmins, one Muhamadan and one non-Brahmin. The Brahmins, being in majority in the sub-Committee, will never come to a conclusion. It is respectfully requested to address the Council on the subject.

Before addressing the Council, there is one more important subject which requires urgent and special attention. In the eastern end of the western portion, the Barhmin females have their bath after the menses period, in the mornings, causing disturbance to the neighbouring non-Brahmins and polluting the water, which is really objectionable on sanitary principles. Further, they pass along the side of the Arasa Tree and round the Subramanya Swami Temple where the non-Brahmins after bath do religious ceremonies and their Puja or worship to God. They have been informed not to pass by that way but to no effect owing to the influence which the Brahmins exercise and weild in all departments. They persistenly pass that way and take their bath in that ghat provoking the religious sentiments of the non-Brahmins.

The Collector being the local representative of the British Government who, for righteous and just cause have interfered in this world war, is respectfully requested to arrange to prohibit the Brahmin females going to the Cauvery for bath after the menses period from passing that way and having their bath in that particular portion adjoining the Puja Ghat, but to send them to the easternmost vacant space.

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Landlady : "I hope you slept well, sir ?"

New Boarder : "No. I didn't. I've been troubled with insomnia."

Lanelady (greatly nettled) : "Look here, young man, I'll give you a sovereign for every one you find in that bed !"

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A man who seemed to have hazy ideas of just what he wanted enterred a shop one morning. He looked at stationery and he looked at playing-cards and then looked at pencils. He iuquired the price of this magazine and that, and examined the post-cards and the books. The young woman who was in charge of the counter became rather wearied answering questions without making a sale. At last the prospective customer asked:—

"Have you any fly-papers?"

"Yes, sir," was the prompt reply. "We have the 'Airman's Journal' and the 'Aviators' Gazette."

## CHRISTIAN LITERATURE SOCIETY

### CENTENARY CELEBRATION

The centenary of the Madras Religions Tract and Book Society was celebrated last evening by a public meeting in the Memorial Hall, with His Excellency Lord Pentland in the chair.

The proceedings commenced with a prayer by Mr. Ferguson.

LORD BISHOP OF MADRAS

The Lord Bishop of Madras then addressed the gathering.

After expressing regret at the absence, on the occasion, of Mr. Passmore, the Secretary, owing to some accident, the Lord Bishop said that the Tract Society of Madras was the first organised attempt to produce and distribute Christian Literature in India. They all felt very glad that in this as in many other things, Madras had led the way to other parts of India. All of them who were engaged in Christian work knew fully well the enormous value this society in all its spheres of activity had been to their work. He ventured to think that this Society deserved the gratitude, not only of the Church, but of the State and community generally, because every society of the kind which played its part in the dissemination of cheap and wholesome literature was an important part of their educational system. Those who had had experience of educational work in villages knew how tremendously the cause of education was hampered by the fact that so many boys and girls, who were already taught in their schools, became practically illiterate in their after life because they had nothing to read. The profuse distribution of cheap and wholesome literature among the masses was a matter of very great importance in India in view of the future spread of education. Therefore those who were interested either in Christian work in this land or in the spread of education and in the general welfare of the community must unite in congratulating the Society for its honourable work during the past century.

MR. DEVADOSS.

Mr. M. D. Devadoss who addressed the meeting next referred to the various missionaries and Indian Christians who had contributed much to the literature of the Society in chaste and easy vernaculars and said that what the Society had done during these years could not be measured by the number of people who had been converted to Christianity. It had been the direct means of leading many to the religious view, and striking stories of conversion by reading the tracts had been told. It had afforded food for meditation. The great portion of the Indian Society would not have been what it was to-day but for the Society. The tone of publications in this Presidency had been raised by the tracts published by the Society. One who knew the activities of the Society, would not consider that the claim was an exaggerate one. The Social Reform movement and the Depressed Classes movement were directly the outcome of the Christian ideals conveyed by the publications of the Society. The general culture of Indian Christians was due to the wholesome tracts published by the Society.

HIS EXCELLENCY.

His Excellency in bringing the proceedings to a close said:—

Ladies and Gentlemen.—I regard it as a great privilege to have had this opportunity of presiding at the Centenary meeting of the Madras Religious Tract and Book Society and of joining with you in commemorating the completion of a hundred years of uninterrupted endeavour to spread Christian knowledge by means of the printed word. The report of the Secretary has given us most interesting information as to the vicissitudes which this Society has seen and of the great development which the work initiated by a few earnest men on September 10th, 1818 has undergone. The feeling of all friends and workers of this Society and of all who desire that the fullest opportunities of judging of the Christian verities and of the message and example of Jesus Christ should be given not only to all followers of the Christian religion but to all devout and thoughtful men and women in this country must be one of thankfulness and gratitude for what has under God's providence been accomplished. The founders of this Society were guided by a sound instinct. There is a diversity of gifts as there is of appeals. To some is given the power of expressing their God given message in the rhythm and passion of the preachers' eloquence; they can sway and mould the thoughts and aspirations of multitudes. Others find that expression comes easiest to them in that closer and more intimate communion which takes place where two or three are gathered together. Others again find their most fruitful spiritual experiences in solitude and in silent meditation upon some message which has for them a personal significance. It is to this latter class that the written word specially appeals, and even beyond the circle of professed believers there can be no question that to many Indians, to whom dogma in itself means nothing, the personality of the Christ and the underlying ideal of the Christian religion makes a strong and undeniable appeal. If proof were needed current Indian literature would supply it, and who can doubt that the work of this Society has greatly contributed to this result? I share your confidence that a great work still lies before it and that profiting by the lessons and mistakes of the past and encouraged by the results which have been achieved during the past century, those responsible for its guidance will, in ever increasing measure, see their hopes and aspirations realized. We are met here to express our gratitude and admiration for its work, patiently built up by lives of men and women.

Here, His Excellency referred to the work of a clergyman who spent forty years of his life in compiling a dictionary of an obscure dialect spoken by very limited number of people in an island, as it was impossible to translate the truths of Christian religion into that dialect until this preliminary work had been done and said:—If you will take that as an illustration and think of the work that has been done all over the world and that is now going on to provide opportunity for the making known of Christianity to those who have no such opportunity at present, we may well remember on this occasion the lives that have been given so nobly and devotedly to this most sacred work.

The Society is celebrating its Centenary at a time when all those ideals which mankind has painfully sought have been and are still being fiercely challenged, but the dawn is at hand and we may confidently hope that ere long this Society will be able to continue its work in a world freed from the hideous menace by which during the past four years it has more than once seemed possible that faith and hope and charity would alike be overwhelmed.

With a vote of thanks to His Excellency proposed by the Rev. Canon Smith, the function terminated.

## NON-BRAHMIN CONFEDERATION

### THE REFORM QUESTION

BOYCOTT OF THE COMMITTEE

Mr. V. Jagaraya Pillai B.A., B.L. of Tanjore moved:—

In view of the partial and partisan character of the Franchise Committee, in view of the studied silence of the Government towards the influential and indignant protests of non-Brahmins in this matter, and in view of the homage paid by Government to the advocate of Brahmin oligarchy in preference to Indian democracy which depends for its evolution upon British authority, this Confederation solemnly resolves that all self-respecting non-Brahmins should decline to appear before, or in any other way co-operate with the Reform Committees unless one or more non-Brahmin members representing the views of the South Indian Liberal Federation are appointed to each of the committees.

In doing so he said :—

Mr. President and gentlemen, I care say that the resolution will commend itself to your acceptance, because all the previous speakers have said so much about the appointment of Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry to the Franchise Committee. I would add only this, what ought to be our attitude towards the committee? Should non-Brahmins give evidence before this committee or in any other way co-operate with it? That is the only question I have to place before you. In this connection I am reminded of a story. A prominent Christian in a certain parish used to occupy always the front bench in a church. It so happened that he was absent for three consecutive Sundays. Then the Parish priest got wild.

What is it that keeps away this leading member of the Church asked the Pastor, is it Buddhism or Muhammadanism? Then some of the members coolly told him that it was neither Buddhism nor Muhammadanism but rheumatism.

So if any of our friends were to put the query to us, what is it that should induce you to keep away from the Franchise Committee, to fight shy of it, why not co-operate with it, why not any of our leaders sit as co-opted members on it, my answer is, "it is Montaguism." That keeps us from this Committee. What is Montaguism? It is an attempt, a sorry attempt, an insensate attempt at placating the implacables. It is further an attempt at disregarding and ignoring the just claims of the non-Brahmins throughout the whole presidency. It is therefore not consistent with our self-respect to go and give evidence before this Committee. The famous declaration of Mr. Montagu of the 20th August, 1917 is probably in the mouth of every Home Ruler nowadays. Because they say that the reforms put forward by Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu fall short of their famous declaration. Probably the famous declaration of our friend Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on the 18th March 1918 has induced Lord Chelmsford to elevate him to this position of trust and responsibility. At least we have not had the privilege of listening to the declaration of Mr. Montagu. We have only read it in papers. But Lord Chelmsford had the advantage of personally listening to the declaration of Mr. Sastry, and so perhaps he was obliged to appoint him to this committee.

So, gentlemen, as long so our claims are overlooked so long as our claims are disregarded, it won't be consistent with our self-respect if we go and co-operate with this committee in any manner whatsoever.

There is also a safeguard in the same resolution. Suppose, a member, any of the leading members of the Federation, of this movement were to be appointed to this committee, what ought to be our attitude? This is explained in our resolution. You know the name of O'Connel is indissolubly associated with the Catholic emancipation in the British Isles. He fought for the emancipation of the Catholics, and similarly are our revered leader Theagaraya Chettiar and others are fighting for the non-Brahmin emancipation. If such persons were to be appointed to this committee, then it will be time enough for us to think whether we shall have anything to do with this committee. So long as none of our leaders are appointed to this committee, we must ignore it. With these few words I commend this proposition to you.

Mr. Bupathi Chetti B.A., Madras, seconded and said :—

It has been represented to us from various quarters, by Brahmins that the non-Brahmins of Southern India take a pleasure in abusing and vilifying the Brahmins without any practical solution of our own difficulties. It has been also said that we non Brahmins have been roused up by some mis-guided men like Dr. Nair, who has not had much to do with non Brahmins, that we are only mere theorising men and not practical people. But on the contrary I can show you by one or two illustrations as to who are the theorising and who are practical men of Southern India.

The vast population of the country known as the Panchamas and the Depressed classes who form about $\frac{1}{6}$ of the entire population of India have been so badly treated, have not been given their rightful place in the citizenship of India. The Brahmins treat them with scant courtsy, with abhorrence, with contempt. And what is the result of their action? We find that there are large numbers of converts from amongst Panchamas to all religions. During the past two or three decades many of our brethren in the Depressed classes have left the Hindu fold and embraced Muhammadinism or Christianity. Then these people lay aside their Hindu garb, they are no longer considered "depressed" but are admitted on a level with even the highest class. That is the treatment meted out by the Brahmins to the lower castes. So much for the charge that we have no reason for complaint against them.

Coming to the resolution itself, it has already been pointed out here that Mr. Srinivasa Sastri has already expressed his preference for a Brahmin oligarchy to a British bureaucracy. Is it then right that such a man should be appointed judge to decide our destinies? You non-Brahmins, would you go before such a man and plead your cause? I am thoroughly convinced that no sort of argument can convince those men who are already prejudiced against us. I therefore ask that the non-Brahmins of South India should not go before this Committee and plead their cause. They should have nothing to do with it at all.

MR. P. AVADIAPPA PILLAY

Mr. P. Avadiappa Pillai, B.A. B.L., Tinnevelly further supported the resolution. He said :—When I read of the constitution of the Franchise Committee in the newspapers I was just reminded of the Code of Manu. You all know that 4000 years ago an old Rishi, that great Manu sat under a tree and formed four castes and framed the Code of Manu with unequal privileges and unjust laws. And the twice born judges said that the Code of Manu was applicable to the non Brahmins of this Presidency. You all know that it took nearly 1000 years of Muhammadan rule as well as British rule to introduce the general principles of justice, equity and good conscience into that old code and make us live like men in this presidency.

Now, you have a committee consisting of the descendants of that old sage Manu and some descendants of the old Druids and Normans to frame rules to give representation and privileges to us. Now we are all assembled here in Confederation under the presidentship of our revered leader. Supposing half a dozen men of the Varnasharma Dharma or some other narrow-minded orthodox Brahmins or narrow-minded Anglo-Indians sit in some Asram in Mylapore and direct us over the telephone as to what resolutions we are to pass here, surely such a step will offend us deeply. So we cannot do without a represented who will stand by us. We surely want our leader near us. But in this committee there is none from amongst us. We have been shelved in a corner and men who have no sympathy for us are to constitute the committee to decide our case.

The whole difficulty in the grant of Communal Representation is this. Political theorists always think that uniformity must be obtained everywhere. No practical politician ever thinks that uniformity must be the basis on which any constitution is to be based. In a country like India—a continent of various castes and creeds—and especially in this presidency which differs from the other provinces in so many important respects, how can these armchair politicians, whether in India or England, secure uniform conditions and set up any uniform system for all? Whatever may be the state of things in the other presidencies so far as the Madras Presidency is concerned I personally know that it is not possible to have any system of just Government without Communal Representation. Communal Representation is most essential to safeguard our interests not only from domestic oppression but from Aryan or Anglo-Indian narrow-minded domination. We as equal subjects of the British Empire, as a matter of right, should have the right to elect our own men to the various councils and to conduct our own affairs for the benefit of ourselves. To hand us over to a narrow minority of privileged classes will be simply betraying the trust placed in the hands of the British Government. In Tinnevelly I personally know, the Brahmin gentlemen have used their spiritual domination to influence political views. Spiritual domination they think naturally gives them a right to political domination as well. So far as Tinnevelly is con- they have had a rude shock. They had been plainly told that we do not depend upon them for spiritual salvation. Our spiritual and political salvation depend on ourselves. Similarly in every district these Brahmin gentlemen must be distinctly told that both in spiritual as well as in political matters we are not in any way behind them, that we have our own right to decide our own destinies. So also we must distinctly tell the British Parliament and the Anglo-Indians that rule over us here that we ourselves should be given the power to shape our destinies. This can only be done by Communal Representation.

MR. V. TIRUMAL PILLAI

Mr. V. Tirumal Pillai, Attorney-at-Law, who was called upon by the President to speak said—Gentlemen I am called by the President to speak on this resolution. I had not intended to speak, and I am speaking because I do not want to disobey the President. There is one aspect of this question which has not been expressed so far as I am aware, in any quarter. And this aspect of the question is that of producing a certain effect in the social improvement of the different castes. Mr. Montagu wants to produce that result by an act of the legislature. You all know that it is impossible to make a gentleman by an act of Parliament. He must be a gentleman before he could be made a gentleman. In the same way is Mr. Montagu going to make us inter-marry and inter-dine because he passes this legislation? The reason put forward by Mr. Montagu—I omit the Viceroy because I am firmly of the belief that the Viceroy is under the thumb of the Secretary of State, I therefore omit all mention of the Viceroy or the Governors of any of the Provinces—Mr. Montagu says you are all divided now, I shall make you one united nation. Now, this is all absolute non-sense.

Among the Hindus all these castes have been existing for three thousand or four thousand years. Have we joined together in all these years? I am going further and ask—amongst the different castes, are there not different castes and divisions and sub-divisions. Now all these divisions and sub-divisions, have they joined together? Now gentlemen, Mr Montagu, a man without any experience, a man without the least experience of Hindu Society, wants all these castes put together and call this a Hindu nation, because he thinks he can do so by an act of Parliament. Now, is it possible? Mr. Montagu, if he really thinks this possible, must be a gentleman just out of the lunatic asylum. Instead of allowing people to go on in the way they have been going on, he wants to force all the different castes to come together. At all events so far as inter-dining is concerned, we are yet a great way in attaining the goal. Instead of allowing the different castes to coalesce according to the natural order of things, this gentleman wants to put this act of Parliament down our throats and say "you must join together." But I am not going to do it. You treat a man in the ordinary way, you get him on your side. Once rub his back and he would say "No, sir, I would go away sir," Now what is this Franchise Committee going to do sir? This Franchise Committee is not only not going to be of any earthly use; it might go against us. We have been fighting for a principle all along. He calls a packed Committee and says "Plead your cause before them."

It is not so easy a task to bring together all the castes by a mere stroke of the pen. If Mr. Montagu will see what is the effect of trying to bring all the castes together in that manner, he will find that it will be mere disruption and obstruction. We are trying to coalsce the various communities quietly. But Mr. Montagu gives it a rude shaking and wants to introduce disruptive forces. The evil consequences of such an action it will take another 50 or 100 years to remove and again come to this present stage.

The Resolution was then put to the assembly and carried unanimously.

## BOMBAY SHARE MARKET

Bombay, Oct. 24.

The share market opened quiet and there was practically no business at midday. At the close there was a better tone and prices closed firm. Tata steel ordinary improved to Rs. 250 and deferred to Rs. 1,232. The following are closing quotations :—Central India at Rs. 2,465, Swadeshi at Rs. 2,050, Ahmedabad advanced to Rs. 1,400, David to Rs. 620, Standard to Rs. 2,230, Tata mills to Rs 950. Andhra Valley to Rs. 360, Fazalbhoy to Rs. 722, Currimbhoy to Rs. 335, Crescent to Rs. 230, Indore Malwa to Rs. 312, Indian Bleaching to Rs. 165, Pearl to Rs. 530, Kohinoor to Rs. 1,280, Madhavji to Rs. 2,135, Shapurji to Rs. 140. Simplex to Rs. 730, Akola to Rs. 92, Finlay to Rs. 460, Swan to Rs. 622. Bombay United to Rs. 855, New Great to Rs. 317, Century to Rs. 432.

In miscellaneous shares Tata ordinary were Rs. 250, deferred at Rs. 1,232, Katni ordinary at Rs. 245, deferred at Rs. 1,250, Tramway at Rs. 122.

$3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Government paper was quoted at Rs. $73\frac{1}{2}$, 4 per cent. Terminable loan at Rs. 94, 4 per cent. Conversion loan at Rs. 81.—A. P.

## AMERICA'S RESOLVE

### CONFIDENCE IN VICTORY.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour, and the members of the American Mission attended on August 30 their first public engagement since their arrival in London. They were the guests of the Government at luncheon at the Carlton Hotel. Mr. G. N. Barnes, M. P., who presided, was supported by three of his colleagues in the War Cabinet—the Prime Minister, Lord Milner, and Mr. Chamberlain.

The Chairman welcomed Mr. Gompers as the man who, in America, had led the working people out of industrial bondage. He said that Mr. Gompers and his colleagues would be able to see that we in this country were doing our bit in the great struggle as became a great people. They would find no whimpering, but that all were making a sacrifice and were unflinchingly determined to fight to the end to oppose the menace and danger by which they were confronted. (Cheers.)

Mr. Lloyd George, proposing "Our Guests," said:—

My task is to offer welcome to our eminent guests. I do so for two reasons. One is that the country which they come from, and which they represent at this moment—a great country, a country cradled in freedom and nurtured in freedom, a country which has been the refuge of millions, in many generations, who have fled from political and economic servitude in many lands, and a country which during all its great traditions has been the champion and the protector of freedom—that country is now engaged in an undertaking, and is placing the whole of its resources at the disposal of this great struggle for liberty—the greatest struggle the world has ever seen. We welcome them for the great country they represent, as we salute the flag of their glorious land. (Cheers). We welcome them also for their own sakes. They are the official leaders of the great Labour community of America. Mr. Samuel Gompers's name is one of the few international names—one of the few names which is as well known in other countries as it is in his own. If I may say so, he is as well known as the Mississippi. (Laughter and cheers.) I think I may claim him to myself as a kindred spirit. He was one of the very few people who approved of me before the war (laughter), and therefore to me his presence here is doubly welcome. He and I have very largely the same ideals. We can say that we are fighting the same battle, and he and I, when the war cames in a true Christian spirit have forgiven the people who were suspicious of us (laughter), and we are fully prepared to co-operate with them for the attainment of ideals that we have always fought for. Mr. Gompers has devoted his life and his great abilities to democratic progress He is fighting the same battle now in the war that he was fighting before. (Cheers.) It is not that he has changed his mind. It is not that he has changed his direction. It is not that he has altered his purpose. It is not that he has started a new career. He is pursuing the same career now, he is climbing towards the same ideals, he is struggling for the same aims as he devoted his long and honourable career to before the war. (Cheers.)

In this war men of all classes have contributed. They have contributed in sacrifice, they have contributed in suffering. There has been no distinction of classes in this land during the war, either in intention, in action, or in endurance. (Cheers.) For all that I say, without any hesitation—and I am sure Mr. Gompers will agree with me—that victory in this war means more to those who have to get their bread by the sweat of their brow than it does to any other class. And it is a very significant fact that if you look at this country, with very few exceptions—I do not know that I can recall them now—the genuine leaders of Labour, the men who work themselves, the men who know what the need of the worker is, what the workers' conditions are, it is significant that almost without exception those men have convinced themselves that victory in this war is essential to what they have been championing all their lives. That is true here. It is true in France, it is true in Italy, and it is true in America, and the fruit of it is that we have the distinguished and famous leader of trade unionism in America throwing the whole of his great strength into the prosecution of this war.

#### German Labour's Failure.

Before the war German Labour was becoming more and more convinced that it could never attain its ideals or achieve the emancipation of the class it represented without overthrowing the domination of Prussian militarism. Each election demonstrated that that force was deepening and broadening in Germany. But they failed. The task which they failed to accomplish by pacific means we are endeavouring to achieve by other means in this great war. We are achieving for them, not merely security to the world against the menace which they suffered from, but we are achieving emancipation from the bondage which they endured. It was becoming more and more intolerable to them year by year. It was becoming so intolerable to them that it was obvious to every man who saw what was going on in Germany that if it had gone on for several years you would have had an uprising which would have overthrown all military domination. That is why we are at war to-day. If the class which made war were to succeed, the condition of the working classes in Germany would be worse, but not merely that, that domination would sweep beyond the frontiers of Germany and extend to all parts of the world, and that is why we find the leaders of Labour in every country and continent throwing the whole of their strength into the attainment of victory. You could have no more genuine proof of the conviction of those who are prosecuting the war, not merely that it is in the interests of the working classes themselves that you should secure victory, but that the working classes themselves know and understand that fact, than that during the war we have in this country doubled the power of the working classes, and those who are most afraid of asking the question whether the war should be prosecuted with all the vigour and power of the nation are not those who know Labour best.

Our guests come from a land whose passion for liberty is deep as the ocean that washes its shores, as wide as the great plains of that continent, as restless as the mighty sweep of its rivers. That passion for liberty is concentrated in the great efforts which they are making, and among those who have assisted in making the effort of America a real one, in bringing the working-class population of America to a realization of the danger to its ideals, none have rendered greater service than Mr. Samuel Gompers. On behalf of you who are present here, and the country to which we belong and the Empire, and on behalf of the whole of the Allies, we welcome him and his colleagues. (Cheers.)

#### No Parley before Victoy

Mr. G. H. Roberts, supporting the toast, said they were glad of the presence of their guests, because it showed that America felt that the maintenance of right was of even greater importance than the maintenance of peace. He was glad of the presence of Sam Gompers and his colleagues, because they were is no doubt whatever respecting their attitude. They expressed their views with a robustness and clearness which left no room whatever for doubt. "Sam has never yet received encouraging replies from enemy countries (laughter), because the enemy knows full well that Sam Gompers represents the American people and their determination to have no parleying with enemy representatives until victory has been attained, and until their Government are in a position to negotiate a clean and enduring peace. Sam Gompers and his colleagues more correctly interpret the attitude of British Labour than do some of those who arrogate to themselves the title of Labour leaders." We had to prosecute the war vigorously, and so long as pity remained in the world we would never forget the crimes committed by Germany. Indignation was a moral quality, and if we evinced too great a desire to forget and forgive the enemy peoples might be inspired to make other wars and bring greater disaster on the world. Therefore we must continue the war.

Mr. Roberts proceeded :—"We know that the contact of our guests with patriotic Labour in this country will help us to defeat the efforts of those who would trick us into meeting with enemy subjects. I have always opposed manoeuvres of that character, because I believe that Stockholm and other devices are inspired by the German Government, and I am sure they would not allow passports to any except those whom they can regard as absolutely safe from their point of view, and surely those who are safe from the point of view of the Kaiser and the Junker class must be opposed to any democratic aspirations that we entertain."

#### Lord Reading

Lord Reading, who also spoke to the toast, said it was his privilege to become acquainted with Mr. Gompers quite early in his stay in America, and that acquaintance quickly ripened into a feeling of friendship which he hoped was only an indication of the friendship between the two countries. Mr. Gompers was one of the best friends and one of the staunchest supporters that the Allied cause had. Mr. Gompers spoke the views of the working people of the United States, and he did something more—he led opinion, and ran very great risks in consequence. He took those risks, determined that if necessary he would fall in the cause that he believed was honest and true and just, and in that spirit he carried along with him in a great flood of enthusiasm the working people of America.

#### Mr. Gompers' Reply

Mr. Gompers, replying to the toast, said that a few days before he left Washington to proceed to an Atlantic port to embark he had the honour of an interview with President Wilson. He wanted not only to wish the President "Au revoir," but to ask him whether he had something he might like him to tell the people of Great Britain, France and Italy The President, in reply, told him the story of a little girl about seven years of age; who was doted upon by her parents. On her birthday she was given a box of blocks of letters. The child played with them and romped until the evening, and when she retired to bed and went down on her knees to pray she was too sleepy to say what she wanted. Putting the bricks on the ground, she said:—"Oh, God, you know what I want to say. Let me say the best thing you would want me to say. Good-night. Amen." And the President stopped there, said Mr. Gompers, "and so I have really no message to-day, except that I know his spirit—a man of patience;, a man of strong conviction, of deep feeling and high ideals, and so I have the privilege of conveying the message of the blocks of bricks, metaphorically thrown upon the floor at that meeting with the President. I have the right to say that the President and the people of the United States are with Great Britain and France and Italy and all the Allies in this struggle to the end, and to a victorious end. (Cheers.) Speaking as one who in part represents the great masses of the workers of America, I may say that we are wholeheartedly in this struggle.

Mr. Gompers proceeded to read a declaration made by the representatives of organized Labour in America on March 12, 1917, nearly a month before America's entry into the war. It was believed, he said, that declaration had much influence in assuring the President that the toilers would stand behind him and the Government in whatever course was taken. After laying down the fundamental principles of right and justice, the declaration said :—

We hereby pledge ourselves, in peace or in war, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic. Should our country be thrown into the maelstrom of a European conflict, we offer our services to our country in every field of activity, to defend, safeguard, the Republic against its enemies, whosoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow-workers and fellow-citizens in the holy name of liberty, justice, freedom, and humanity devotedly and patriotically give like service.

"This is the spirit of determination and purpose of the Labour movement of our country," said Mr. Gompers. "We have to ask ourselves whether the spirit of the Labour movement could live if it were possible for Kaiserism and militarism to dominate. The Labour movement represent the yearnings of the masses of the people."

He was not a college graduate or professor. He had been a working boy and a working man, and he had worked at his trade for 26 years of his life. He was a graduate of the college of hard knocks (laughter), aud, if it were not too vain to say so, he had more knowledge than learning. It was his purpose to endeavour to express the best collective thought of the masses of labour. He was quite willing that the so-called intellectual party and the faddists should enjoy themselves in the "salons," leaving the others of the working people to work out their destines as best they could. In the United States the workers had made wonderful strides by economic and political action. He hoped the time might come when in Great Britain, in France, in Italy, and even in Germany, there would come a recognition in the laws that there should be not only freedom of the seas, but freedom of the seamen. He would like to say how great the appreciation was in America of the splendid services performed by the Seamen's Union of this country in the cause of freedom. (Cheers.)

It must not be forgotten that in the United States there were about 12 millions of people of Teutonic extraction. That was a tremendous problem for the Government. The Government were not at first in a position to take action, but when outrages and murders which had been perpetrated against the Allies were committed against their own American people, and when Americans engaged in peaceable pursuits were murdered in cold blood, the die was at once cast, the climax was reached, and the Government declared that a state of war existed between their country and the Imperial German Government. It was the consciousness of the attitude of the organized Labour movement of their country that clarified the situation, and now they were engaged not in a war, but in a crusade. In the days of the Civil War they used to sing. "We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand strong," but they now said to the Allied nations, "We are coming, brothers in this struggle five millions strong". (Cheer.) Perhaps he might amend that statement by quoting President Wilson, and say, "Why stop at five millions ?" They would give all the man-power and all the wealth they could sacrifice to help to win this wonderful struggle. He was persuaded and convinced that they would bear any loss—they could not lose ; they would win (Loud cheers.)

We of this Labour Mission, Mr. Gompers continued, have come here for the purpose of endeavouring to unite the workers of Great Britain, of France, and of Italy to stand together as one solid phalanx to make good the declaration of American Labour. We intend to stand behind our respective Governments in winning this war. You in Great Britain have done wonderful things in holding out against the Hun, and we are profoundly grateful to you. You have turned out wonderful products, both in quantity and quality. We have sent over to you a million and a quarter of our fighting boys. Our men and women at home are working hard, knowing that every blow struck with the hammer is a blow against German autoracy. We realize in America that nothing is quite so important now as winning the war. We are going to stand by you, as we confidently believe that the spirit of Britain, the gallantry of France, and the impetuosity and spirit of America will win this war, and give the opportunity of living a life of peace to every man and woman. (Cheers.)

## THE WARFARE OF I[...]

### "IMPONDERABLES."

### WHAT PROPAGANDA MEANS.

A correspondent writes to the "London Times" :—When Bismarck in 1188 declared that in war the "imponderables" weigh much more heavily than material weights his sagacity was not at fault. The Iron Chancellor was the last [...] to underestimate the value of men and g[...] but his insight or his feresight rightly led h[...] to realize that in modern warfare ideas were destined to play an even more important part than munitions. In the past, when wars partook largely of the character of military adventures aimed at purely material ends, the good old rule, the simple plan, that they should take who have the power and they should keep who can, sufficed as a justification, and a few invocations of patriotic feeling supplied the necessary emotional force. But war is no longer an affair of statesmen and armies alone. It has become the concern of nations and peoples, and not merely of the belligerents, but of neutrals as well.

In such warfare the weapons of the mind have acquired a new importance. The marshalling by each belligerent of his spiritual armrment has beeome as anxious a care as the provision of the more material munitions of battle. It is not only a matter of inspiring the moral of the fighting men, though the modern citizen-soldier when asked to do or die is well entitled to knew the reason why and to be thrice-armed by a rational assurance that he has his quarrel just. It is more than that. The warring nations feel called upon to justify their cause *orbi* as well as *urbi*,

It is only of late that we have come to realize that for purposes alike of defence and of attack the munitions of the mind may win material victories no less effectively and with much less bloodshed than shot and shell. A pamphlet dropped from an aeroplane may put whole divisions out of action, and the publication of an inspiring speech may win us an ally or disarm a foe. The Vienna Press Bureau has just paid a tribute to the "wicked system of propaganda" pursued by the Italians among the Czechs, as having led directly to the Austrian disaster on the Piave; and who can foretell the moral effect of the message from the skies which d'Annunzio delivered to distraught Vienna? The dissemination of the Lichnowsky revelations in South Africa has wrought a complete revulsion of feeling on the part of many disaffected Boers there.

#### Presenting The Case.

Thus it has come about that the importance of what we designate by the hard-worked term "propaganda" is being recognized in this war as never before. In its widest acceptation propagaeda is after all simply advocacy. It smain function is the presentation of our own case and the refutation of our adversay's case before the jury of mankind. It necessarily varies in its tone and in its substance according to the audience to which for the moment it is addressed, for its appeal is now to our own people, now to our Allies, again to our enemies, and yet again to neutrals. And the vehicles of propaganda are naturally multiform. They include all the means by which facts and arguments can be conveyed to the mind by the eye or by the ear. These means have been enormously increased by modern scientific invention. No previous belligerent could enlist in his service the magic of wireless telegraphy or the living pageant of the cinematograph.

Doubtless the reason why we have been slow as a nation to awake to the vital importance of our "imponderable" weapons is to be found in the innate repugnance of the Briton to self-justification ; he prefers self-depreciation. We have hitherto rather prided ourselves on not advertising either our merits or our achievements. A distaste for the methods of the "miles gloriosus" with mailed first and shinning armour has repelled us from emulating them. We have adopted the motto of the sturdy citizens of Aberdeen—"They say. What say they? Let them say !" But we have to overcome our reticence. Words are not less necessary than deeds. In the realization of this fact we have lagged far behind our foes, whose expenditure on propaganda has been seven or eight times greater than ours. But we have learned our lesson.

The amazing results accomplished by the sinister propaganda of Germany are instructive. Who can doubt that the unity and determination which characterized our enemies at the outset of the war were due to the process of psychological propaganda which for half a century Germany had been carrying on among her people and in which she enlisted and prostituted the great intellectual forces at her disposal? Her commercial classes were sedulously inculcated with the idea of the profitableness of war and vistas of riches beyond the dreams of avarice were opened to their dazzled gaze. Her intellectual classes were bemused with dreams of spreading their own inestimable culture over a world made docile by the conquering German sword. Her military classes were assured of new and glorious achievements. Her working classes were promised a golde[n] age of industrial prosperity. And, perha[ps] most important of all, the toxic herbs [of] enmity and hatred were cultivated in the [re]ceptive German mind by every conceiva[ble]

…presentation of the doings and aims of those whom German designed to attack. The impetus thus given to the war spirit of our chief foes has not yet spent itself. Whenever it shows any sign of slowing down, the whole machinery of home propaganda is at once set in motion again, and the German people are provided with fresh rations of that peculiar brand of synthetic truth, or "Wahrheit Ersatz," which they still seem to find palatable. Then as regards the world outside, Germany for a generation before the war had her emissaries in every quarter of the globe, trained to serve both as intelligence agents and as propagandists.

GERMANY'S TIRELESS EFFORTS

Only those who have had the opportunity of studying her propagandist activities during the war can appreciate how tireless and continuous have been the efforts of Germany to turn every fact and fiction to her own account, both at home and abroad. She has never allowed her military preoccupations to divert her for a moment from the prosecution of her more subtle campaigns. Her propaganda has been diligently at work, and is still at work, in Ireland, in South Africa, in India, to name three only of her favourite offensives. She has constantly tried to alienate the Allies from each other by sowing doubts and suspicions wherever the soil seemed favourable. Wherever she has seen a spark of internal dissension in any of the Allied countries she has sought to fan it into flame. Among the neutrals the process of alternate cajolery and intimidation has been in ceaseless operation.

It may be said that, in spite of all her efforts, Germany has not achieved much, and it is true that the loyalty or disbelief of those whom she has sought to corrupt has generally foiled her. But there is no doubt whatever that she has succeeded marvellously well in her home propaganda, while abroad she has often seriously hampered and embarrassed her foes in the conduct of the war. The collapse of Russia and the subjugation of Finland are trophies no less of her pen than of her sword.

If Germany with so bad a cause to plead has been instant in season and out of season in her advocacy, why should we, with right and justice, as we believe, on our side, let our case, go by default? We need not stray an inch from the path of truth and honour in the presentation of our case either to our own people, to our foes, to our Allies, or to neutrals. It is a straightforward and simple case. It does not need the strategy or the tactics of the special pleader.

It has been suggested that the time for propaganda is past, that both sides have reiterated "ad nauseam" the objects for which they are contending, and that nothing now remains but to fight it out. Germany does not think so. To give a single example, she has only the other day begun to post on the walls of her cities, and doubtless to distribute abroad, placards designed to prove by an ingenious and persuasive perversion of history and statistics that she is not a militarist nation. It would be folly not to take every opportunity of utilizing the ample material we possess to refute this stultification of our whole war aim. Another of Germany's latest efforts has been to endeavour to acquire for herself in the eyes of India the credit for the reforms proposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. She has called upon the people of India to recognize that it was only the German sword which forced England to think of concessions to India's millions. Innumerable other recent instances, ranging from Iceland to Chile, from Spanish Guinea to the Dutch East Indies, could be cited.

NOW IS THE TIME.

So far, indeed, is it from being the case that the occasion for British propaganda and counter-propaganda is at an end that the need was never greater. The approach of the final crisis of the war is naturally the signal for a crescendo of propaganda not only on the part of the pacifists and disaffected elements in our own midst, but also on the part of our enemies, seeking to divert us from the accomplishment of our purpose, or to mitigate the just consequences of defeat, and on the part of neutrals, who see a prospect of good fishing in troubled waters. Every one will have his own specific to cure the world's malady, and many will have their own axes to grind. Each faddist will try to persuade us that his particular will-o' the-wisp is the true light which leads to peace. Such a time above all others is the time for the steadying of opinion, belief, and faith, these three prime movers of action, which is the highest function of true propaganda.

We are already suffering from the utterances of Lord Lansdowne and other tepid-minded persons who think that this war can be ended as others have been by territorial adjustments and conciliatory compromises. It is odd to find the pacifists advocating a policy which might more appropriately have emanated from reactionaries, and which would leave Germany all her autocratic power for evil. It is not realized as it should be that nice readjustments of boundaries and delicate new balancing of power are altogether irrelevant to the ending of such a struggle as this. The United States has not come into the war in order ultimately to take a hand in a game of diplomatic give-and-take such as used to delight the plenipotentiaries of high contracting Powers at peace conferences, President Wilson and his people have frankly announced that their aim is to save the world by destroying, and not by trafficking with, Prussian militarism, and have thereby brought a breath of fresh air into the atmosphere, which was beginning to grow tainted with the breathings of pacifists and defeatists.

It cannot be proclaimed too often that until the Germans are forced to dethrone the false god to which they have bowed the knee there can be no peace with them. As yet they remain utterly impenitent. They are still joined to their idols. Witness the remarkable series of quotations from the utterances of her public men extracted in "The Times" of August 8 from the recently published German volume on "The Coming World Peace." There can be no compromise with the spirit which these utterances exhibit. It never was more necessary than now to fortify public opinion at home and abroad by pointing out that we shall have lost the war if it ends in a treaty with a still militarist Germany.

The air will soon be resounding, is already resounding, with peace offensives, ingenious, specious, even disconcerting, all designed to turn us from the achievement of our purpose and to rob us of the fruits of victory. It is pre-eminently the task of British propaganda to unmask these disingenuous efforts, and to defeat the enemy in the psychological arena as we hope to defeat him in the field.

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"No sir," said Mr. Meekton, warmly, "no man would dare say I am henpecked."

"Why not ?" asked a near relation, with a tinge of sarcasm in his voice.

"Because if he did, I'd tell Henrietta of him."

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## South Indian Liberal Federation.

All persons other than Brahmins who sympathise with and subscribe to the undermentioned objects of the South Indian Liberal Federation are requested to become members thereof as early as possible.

1. The objects of the Federation are,—

(a) to promote the Educational, Social, Economic, Political, Material and Moral progress of all communities of Southern India other than Brahmins;

(b) to discuss public questions and make true and timely representations to Government of the views and interests of the people of Southern India, with the object of safeguarding and promoting their interests;

(c) to disseminate by public lectures, by distribution of literature and by other means sound and liberal views in regard to public questions and thus create and direct public opinion.

2. Members of the Liberal Federation are averse to any violenauth and en constitutiona changes whichorwill thdimpairudtse ity of the British Government to which they look for holding the scales even between class and class. They are, however, strongly in favour of progressive political development, of a well defined policy of trust in the people, qualified by prudence, and of timely and liberal concessions in the wake of proved fitness. The time for the grant of complete Self-Government to India has not yet come. This is a time for preparation to attain that goal. No intermediate step that is taken with a view to reaching the final goal will be acceptable to the members of the Federation, which does not secure complete representation to the different communities that constitute the population of this Presidency in proportion to their numerical strength and stake in the country.

3. All persons of Southern India of not less than 21 years of age other than Brahmins shall be eligible for membership of the Federation. Students of any School or College other than graduates shall not be eligible for membership. Annual subscription for mofussal members is one rupee and for the presidency town members Rupee 1-8.

4. The following gentlemen are the office bearers of the Federation:—

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*Treasurer.*—Rao Bahadur G. Narayanasawmy Chettiar.

5. Application forms and the Rules of the Federation may be obtained from the Secretaries.

6. The Head Office of the Federation is in 16-A, Mount Road, Madras (the Office of the … Peoples' Association)

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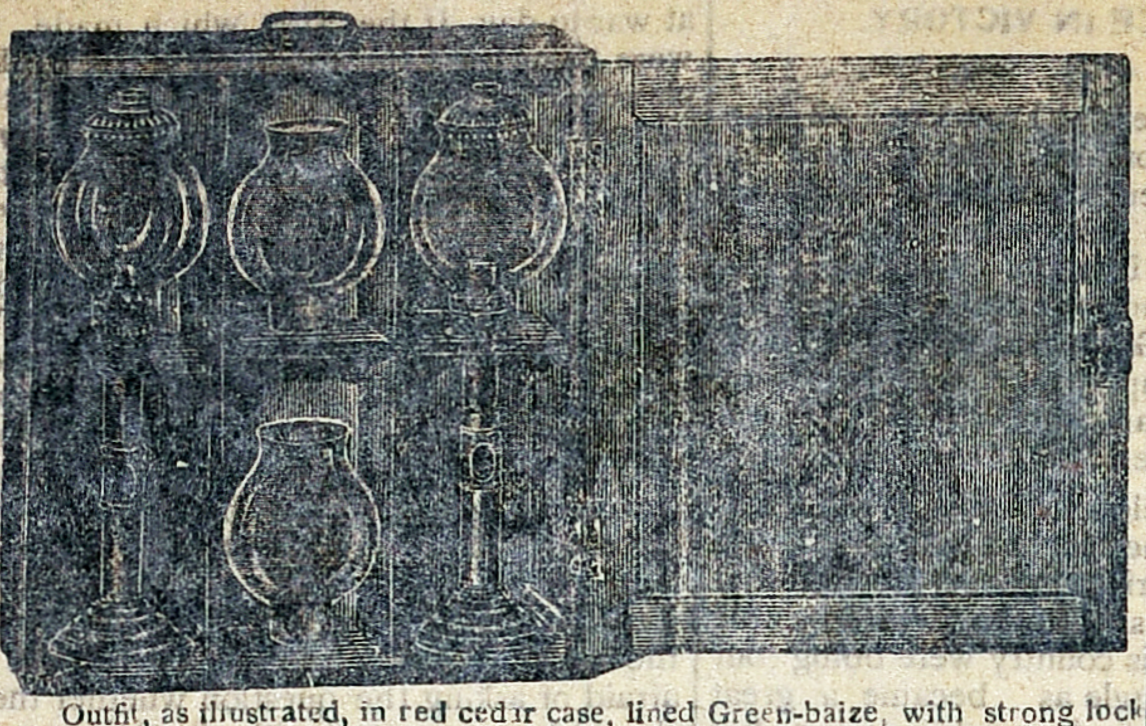

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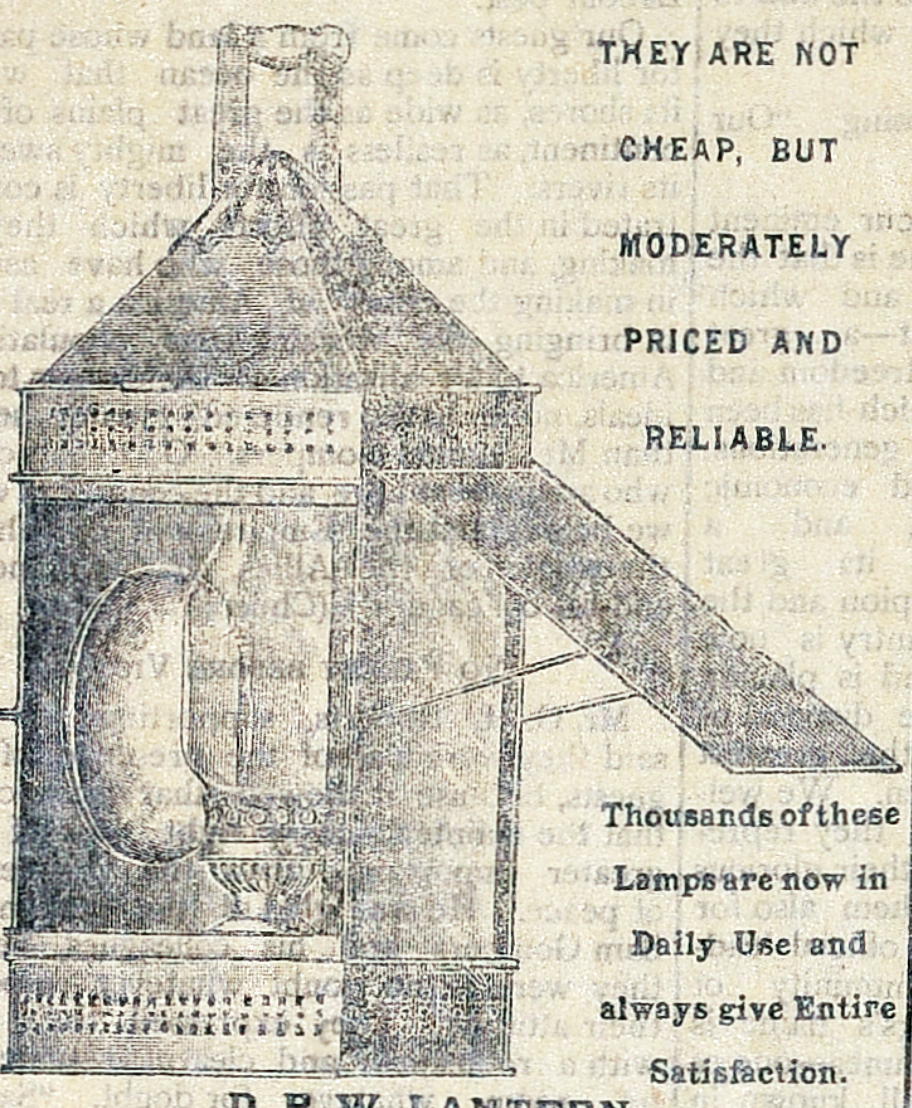

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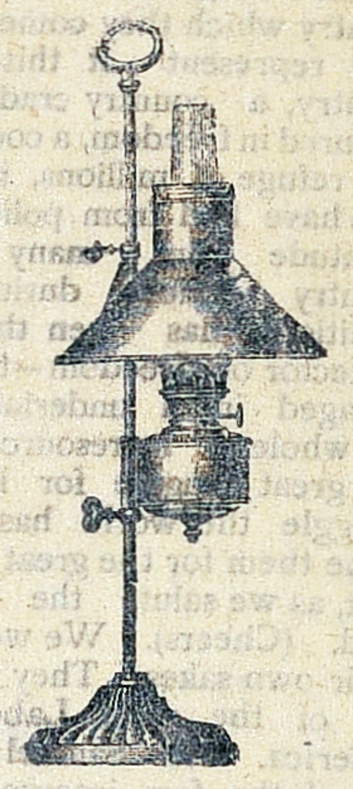

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